

THE AGRICULTURAL PROCESS

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In three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT \$2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

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778 guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of
581 the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table,
574 but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it
is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assign-
ment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status
in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room
*592 to the immediate left of the kōng-thiā: , while his younger brother or
married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiā: . If
the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons,
the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiā: ,
the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even
a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various
members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle
reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiā: is what one might call the public area of the house.
342 It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships
778 with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through
*592 the kōng-thiā: , and they leave by way of the kōng-thiā: . It is also
[374] by way of the kōng-thiā: that a bride first enters her husband's family,
[582] and it is through the kōng-thiā: that a deceased member of the family
[764] passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its
private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered
*592 not in the kōng-thiā: , but rather in the family kitchen. Typically
• 394 located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invar-
iably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
• 354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon
as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of
a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred
to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both
the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two
families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of
stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer
as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove,
the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought
[597] of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one
village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other
things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the
bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was
nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does
not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their
sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental house-
hold, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs
of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to
be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large
entrance which leads into the kōng-thiā, the front wall of the house
will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

* 592 independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under
596 one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound
[798] is a number of related but independent households. They will usually
[361] share the use of the kōng-thiā: , the yard between the two wings of the
[362] house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will
[594] have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the
• [354] building of two stoves in one kitchen.

198 The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family
798 structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and
356 care of the kōng-thiā: . When a house is new and inhabited by a single
* 592 kē, the kōng-thiā: will be always the best kept room in the building.
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[353] The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have
been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family
can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide
their parental kē, the kōng-thiā: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate,
for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money
to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is
still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What
work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into
doing. The real decline of the kōng-thiā: begins when she and her
husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who
has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a
result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep
[59] of the kōng-thiā: . As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs
states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's respon-
000 sibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thiā: and its

Since much of its growth took place

633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
 341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
 177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current
 shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In
 some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still
 beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
 633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
 363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
 [463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied,
 melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers.
 At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as
 natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but
 peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs
 and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or
 military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and
 roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians
 who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt
 without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs
 drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the
 same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
 361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
 361 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and
 timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly
 disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the
 streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of
 a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
 633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
 444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
 owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
 [354] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depend-
 [262] ing upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
 [954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
 [855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby
 tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
 633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
 [363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often
 ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

369 and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker.

[443] And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer [54] when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

[494] The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the

[363] street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-

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444 carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crock-

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438 ery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the

[415] dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares— [412] bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled

[416] rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of

[291] pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails

[412] are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese [354] kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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Leading from

Houses and Families

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both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese tatami sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens. 342
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The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers. 342
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When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with 593
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*593 their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the
592 eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This
ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor,
two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death
of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other
feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks
her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living
and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen,
but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about
the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children.
The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to with-
stand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was
required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their
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[562] parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he
was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are re-
versed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is
expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite
unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their
father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may
be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying
an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the
younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then
on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

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392 In most cases the two families created by the division remain
under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the
two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard.
They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and
elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to
bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic
change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the
symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living
family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking
stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the
dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so
important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the
stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same
kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended
wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect, [596] [342] 184

The House of Lim

*596 corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in
342 the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of
[352] the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the
[513] time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share
[192] the tatami sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and
whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this
room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the
*596 coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small
• 354 internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the
353 floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts
[252] two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is
[372] filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's
cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the
stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be
caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge
before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumula-
[419] tions of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and
[352] various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed
[412] cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food
that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The
kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the
[312] village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The
well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located
[231] in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next
[541] room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig
[177] food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as
"night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full,
not ten feet from the water supply.

*596 I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house
342 had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of
122 the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for
114 storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The
storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a
sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering
cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for
her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another
family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left
we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide
ourselves with a much needed testing room.

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.

787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally, 192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activities of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the lung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

- 354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and lung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 In order to indicate the kind and extent of house-
592 hold furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the lung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns.

Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room
342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Al-
514 though *separate out-houses* were common in the past, there
[177] is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

428 the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three
59 units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

59 The major original defining characteristic of the
● 354 household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

121 The foregoing has provided both a static view of the
122 distribution of family types in the village and an explanation
622 of various mechanisms which affect its membership and
59 existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

791 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family
823 burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional
787 burials.

- a. [354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally [764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent
823 sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two
764 of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased
787 many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason [444] and two village women earn a significant part of their [834] incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

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[871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village
• [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will
[514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if
[625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443]
[515] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen
[262] and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,